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THE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE ORIENT

FOUR LECTURES GIVEN AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE EARL FOUNDATION, PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

BY

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PREFACE

The present book is the outcome of the four lectures given on the E. T. Earl Foundation under the joint auspices of the Pacific School of Religion and the University of California, in September, 1921. The scheme of the book is this: to point out the fundamental issues, religious and social, in the problems of the Orient which arise out of its contact with the Occident. The author is well aware of the varying and changing phases of these problems in the several countries of the East. But since some of those changes are too transitory and subsidiary to be treated within his present limits, he has emphasized the main lines which seem to merit more abiding interest and attention. All of the major problems and movements arising both in the East and West are finally to be reduced, in his judgment, to the question of men's spiritual attitude, East and West, toward life in society and in the universe. For this reason the author puts special stress on the religious side of the situation, though he never intends to minimize the social and economic aspects.

Underlying all the statements and arguments here made runs the conviction that the relation and conflict between the East and West can never be dismissed with such a dictum as "East is East and West is West,"

or solved by such declarations as either "the world for the Whites" or "Asia for the Asiatics." The world that has seen enough of the evils of Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism ought to take warning against the dangers of Pan-Asianism or Pan-Turanism. For these are possible menaces and not only the East, but the West, is responsible for them, because such racial and cultural biases are based on the unwarranted ideas of the race concerned—White, Yellow or Brown, as the case may be—and are a product of arrogance on the part of one or both of the parties in antagonism. This, however, means no denial of the actual existing difference between the Occident and the Orient, but amounts to seeing in the cleavage the gap between differing spiritual heritages, social structures and life circumstances and not the chasm of unchangeable racial characters. Though the author does not venture to commit himself to the denial of all racial, therefore biological, differences, he insists that the cultural heritages have more bearing upon the present situation. The fundamental issue is cultural, that is, social and religious; and the world's history is full of instances of changes, often radical and revolutionary, that have taken place in these respects. Therefore, the reader is invited to consider the complicated contacts and reactions of different civilizations, as shown by the historians, and the crossing and overlapping relationships of races as far as known to the ethnologists. The Hindu is "White" in blood but Oriental in culture, while the Finn and the Magyar though probably "Colored" in racial descent are thoroughly Occidental in ideas and life. The

Russian and the Armenian stand between the two in various ways, while other great cultural and racial changes are actually taking place in both the East and the West.

In fact, as none of the races or nationalities remains nowadays unmixed, so none of the streams of culture or religion is pure and homogeneous. Is the Occidental entitled to say that he is not influenced by the East when he derives spiritual inspiration from the Bible of the Hebrew? Again, is every European or American really a genuine follower, pure, without admixture, of Jesus, the Nazarene? How much is the Tibetan an original, uncontaminated Buddhist or the Chinese a primitive, unstained Confucian? We might challenge the Occidental to answer the question whether the reason he is a Christian be because he believes Jesus, Paul and Augustine to be his brothers by blood and race. No one but a bigoted Pan-Germanist would say that Jesus was a Teuton and be in earnest.

Whatever a Wilhelm Hohenzollern and a Rudyard Kipling, or a Count Gobineau and a Houston Stewart Chamberlain, or a Lothrop Stoddard and a Shinkichi Uyesugi [1] may say, the problem of the world today as regards the relationship between the East and the West is not a simple abstract matter of race or creed. The author has sought in these lectures to point out some of the complications involved in the problem, not aiming at its solution but presenting the situation

[1] A Japanese professor who believes that the Japanese are the descendants of the Gods.

in its latest phases as seen from the standpoint of the Orient chiefly.

The Orient, the Far East as well as the Near and the Middle East, is fast changing not only in outward appearance but in the depths of its life. Though the stimuli responsible for these changes proceed mostly from the Occident, the outcome will not be a mere Occidentalization of the East, nor simply a reaction against it, but a higher synthesis in some form between the old heritages and the new forces. On the other hand, the Occident itself is no longer a self-satisfied circle, regarding itself as the master of the world, as was the case in the last years of the preceding century. In a word, the East is no longer a world of immobility, and the West can no more push forward with the old self-assurance its life of activity and exploitation. If the one is not necessarily approaching the other, each at any rate has to change its mind and reconstruct its own life. Enough proof of this, as the author sees it, is shown in the books like this one which have appeared in the West on its problems of reconstruction. Nothing is a stronger challenge to us all, Orientals and Occidentals, than the political and social convulsion and spiritual fermentation now sweeping the whole world. Whether it be revolution or evolution, this period of profound changes is largely the consequence of actions and reactions between the twain who were supposed never to meet until the Last Day. The author will be gratified if he can do something to call the attention of the Occident to certain aspects of these changes which the Orient is undergoing on account of its contact with the Occident.

However, the author calls attention again to the limitations of his discussion. He has not adequately treated the various phases of the social problems and their complication with religious movements; and he deals only in a casual manner with the Oriental nations beside Japan. But in apology for this latter point, he may claim Japan to be fairly typical of all the Oriental nations, except perhaps the Islamic countries. The foremost difference is the political status of Japan, which has an important bearing upon the policy and temper of the Japanese nation as regards her attitude toward the Western nations and Occidental civilization. This point is referred to in the second chapter, on the relation between the "native workers" and the "foreign missionaries"; but it possesses wide significance in all other phases of the social problem, such as industrial organization, educational institutions and the labor movement. But the fundamental situation in them all is pretty much the same—the contact of the Orient with the Occident is introducing both disruptive and invigorating factors; and the more constructive steps which Japan is taking will sooner or later be followed by other Oriental nations.

Sincere thanks are due to his colleagues in the Pacific School of Religion and in the University of California, for kindness shown to the author in various ways during his stay in Berkeley. Particularly grateful does he feel toward Dr. William Frederick Badé, the Acting Dean of the School, who gave him the honor of being Earl Lecturer and has assisted him in giving the lectures the present book form. May the theologian who, beside his education and theological

works, is saving the birds and redwoods of California, accept the high respect and the sincere sentiment of fellowship from one of the followers of the Oriental sages and poets who has derived inspiration from the bosom of Nature! Another expression of no less deep-felt gratitude is paid by the author to his friend, Kenneth J. Saunders, the great sympathizer with the spiritual heritage of the Orient who, out of his profoundly Christian consciousness, was not only instrumental in inviting the author to Berkeley, but also has helped him in all possible ways, in the preparation of the lectures and during all his stay.

. . . . . .

Finally the author sends out the book to the world in the spirit of a poem of Walt Whitman, who sings:

Facing west, from California's shores,
Inquiring, tireless, seeking what is yet unfound,
I, a child, very old, over waves, towards the house of eternity, the land of migration, look afar,
Look off the shores of my Western Sea—the circle almost circled;
For, starting westward from Hindustan, from the vales of Kashmere,
From Asia—from the north—from the God, the sage, and the hero,
From the south—from the flowery peninsulas and the spice islands;
Long having wander'd since—round the earth having wander'd,
Now I face home again—very pleas'd and joyous;
And why is it yet unfound?

. . . . . .

Is it found? Can it ever be found? There is the question, and we must leave it to posterity, perhaps.

MASAHARU ANESAKI.

Tokyo, December 5, 1921.

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THE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE ORIENT

CHAPTER I

RELIGION AND MORALITY IN THE ORIENT AND THE OCCIDENT

Nothing was more evident and definite to the medieval theologians than the distinction between the Orient and the Occident, because they were absolutely sure that Jerusalem was the center of the world, while the sun arose somewhere in India in the East and set beyond Gibraltar in the West. But the challenge and adventure of Columbus overturned medieval lore. His westward voyage discovered a new world, and when adventurers and explorers proceeded further west the Eastern Seas were reached and they found India located further west. Nowadays, no one would dare to assign any localities on the earth as the spots of sunrise or sunset. A westward voyage carries one to the East, as an eastward march is destined to reach the West. This is too commonplace to be mentioned anew.

But when we speak today of the Orient and the Occident, we mean no more a matter of mere orientation, but a grave problem of human races and their cultures and spiritual heritages. Many believe in a

hard-and-fast distinction between the Orient and the Occident and think that the final word was spoken in the famous dictum of Rudyard Kipling. But as the poet goes on to say, there is neither West nor East when two strong men meet, from whichever corners of the earth they come. However we look at it, we are in fact facing the problems arising out of the contact of the Orient and Occident; and as this contact has a pressing significance for the West, so it is no less grave and urgent for the East. What we have to do is to boldly face the fact and to look forward to possible solutions. But in facing the situation we must not lose sight of its moral and spiritual meaning, of its social and practical issues.

Now, granted that the contact as well as a certain amount of conflict is a matter of fact, let us then question wherein lies the difference between the Orient and the Occident. There are certainly various aspects to this difference, but perhaps a point which strikes every observer is that the sense of individuality is predominant in Occidental culture, while that of the Orient is eminent in what is often but crudely called impersonalism, i.e., in the absorption, more or less, of the individual in the commune or the family. Freedom or personal initiative is one of the cardinal virtues, or an object of aspiration, in the Occident, whereas Oriental ethics puts much emphasis on loyalty or faithfulness, on obedience, often verging on slavishness. All this is due not so much to racial instinct or endowments, as to the difference of social structure, wherein the individual occupies his place.

Some Japanese conservatives insist on the impor-

tance of the inherited idea and structure of the family in contradistinction to the personal ethics of the Occident. The Hindu would emphasize caste, and the Chinese the commune, which means the family in a larger sense linked together by common properties and the cult of common ancestors.

However much the points under consideration may be exaggerated, it is an undeniable fact that the communal principle of Oriental morality stands in this respect in marked contrast to the individualism of Occidental ethics. We may say that in the communal ethics the will of the community prevails over that of the individual, while the latter plays, or is expected to play, but a passive part in an unquestioning obedience to the general will. This latter, the general will, is chiefly determined by traditions, heritages, or precedents. It is a mental attitude of looking back and not of looking forward, rather an ethic of reverence than of aspiration. This attitude of the mind makes one easily idealize the past, idolize tradition, and thereby leads to admiration, contemplation, pious devotion, and thence not seldom to repose, dreaminess, stagnancy. In this respect it stands out against the aspiring spirit of democracy, the spirit of free scientific quest, in one word, against the principles of modern civilization. In economic life Oriental morality is saturated with the sense of gratitude toward the way handed down, being the antipode of the modern idea of industrial organization and control. The Orient knew nothing of the conquest of Nature, because Nature was to it either a benevolent mother or a paternal tyrant.

In admitting, for the present, all this to be true, the distinction between the Orient and the Occident may be summarized as that between the contemplative attitude and the life of activity. This reminds us of Goethe's "Faust," when he, in meditating on the term to be used for the word *logos* in the opening of the Johannine Gospel, is dissatisfied with the rendering "word," proposes "act," and arrives finally at the word "power." The "word" or "idea" in Plato's sense implies the life of contemplation, while "power" means necessarily effort, struggle, activity. Therein lies the extent of the gap existing between the ancient Platonists and the modern Goethe, and similarly great is the distance which separates the Orient from the Occident.

Neither of these points is made either in criticism or in praise, because each of these two polar tendencies has virtues as well as vices of its own, hopes as well as difficulties peculiar to it. Many people in the Occident would associate with the word "oriental" or "contemplative" something indolent, sluggish, or at best dreamy. Oriental ethics puts special emphasis on the virtues of faithfulness, obedience, complaisance, meekness. And who would deny that even in the Occidental countries these are virtues? Has not Christ said: "I am meek and lowly in heart?" Then why not in life, too? On the other hand, however, no Oriental would deny that his virtues of faithfulness, obedience and meekness are often apt to degenerate into slavish subservience, into indolent torpor. We know that the Occident today rules the world, and it does so by virtue of its daring valor, undaunted

strength, undefiled freedom, initiating spontaneity. Even Buddha or Confucius would accept these Western virtues at their face value. But would even a very few in the Occident regard excitability, aggressiveness, pugnacity, the will to dominate, the sense of self-righteousness, as unconditionally desirable qualities of mankind?

This way of stating the question of moral qualities apart from the actual background and associated aspects of life is of course too abstract. But it is admissible, so far as we are immediately concerned with the matter, to do this, and not go into a consideration of causes or effects. In any event the Orient cherishes its moral ideas, together with its social heritages, and would not part itself from these at one stroke. Yet the Orient is aware that it must somehow adapt itself to the new conditions and necessities arising out of its contact with the Occident and is not slow in perceiving the virtues as well as the dangers of Occidental civilization. Though we do not mean to pass harsh judgment upon the Occident, we might venture to say that the Occident itself must be aware of its vices as well as its virtues. Else we might properly ask, Have the lessons of the World War been missed?

This consideration of moral ideas leads us to the question of religion, since religion is the source of inspiration as well as an embodiment of a people's highest ideals. The distinction between the Orient and the Occident may be largely characterized in religious terms as the contrast between pantheism and monotheism, because Buddhism, the religion of the Orient *par excellence,* is usually known as pantheistic, while

Christianity is evidently monotheistic. Let us now, for the sake of convenience, proceed on the basis of this differentiation, although besides the subtle shadings and meanings in both pantheism and monotheism, the characters of these two religions can hardly be exhausted by these single terms.

To be brief, monotheism amounts to the belief in an all-powerful God ruling the world by His will and wisdom, while pantheism amounts to the belief in the immanence of divinity in any and every being and thing. One is definite in its ideas and concentrates its efforts in obeying God's will, while the other is elusive and decentralized in ideas, conceiving life in terms of its connection with, or absorption into, the infinite. The ethics of monotheism is that of vigorous will and strong personality, while pantheism often tends to neglect morals and is always more or less mystical and often non-ethical.

Stated in this way, the question of these two religious attitudes suggests various points to consider. Specialists in theology might ask whether the belief in a unique God is really incompatible with the idea of divine immanence, or whether a pantheistic religion could remain without some kind of concentration, some idea of unity of existences. But we may omit discussions on these points, for our purpose is the more practical one of life. Seen from this latter angle, there is one point which puzzles students of religion and morals, and that is the relationship between Christian monotheism and modern democracy. The God of Christianity is the Ruler of the world, the King of Kings, the Lord Almighty, and every Chris-

tian is taught that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom. This is perhaps rather the God of the Old Testament than of the New Testament, but in Christendom the former is generally regarded as no less important than the latter. How is this fear of God, this obedience to Him, coördinated with the Occidental morality of freedom and initiative, with modern democracy based on the people's will? A similar question arises on the other side as to the significance, in the morals of the Oriental peoples, of the pantheistic aspiration to raise oneself to the rank of divinity.[1]

These questions we do not now intend to discuss. On the other hand, there is one point to be noticed in the connection between the idea of personality and religious beliefs. The God of monotheism is distinctly personal and consequently man in His image is endowed with a definite, everlasting personality. Application of this conception to morals is the keynote of Occidental ethics. The divinity of pantheism, on the contrary, is superpersonal or impersonal, because it sees divine life in every existence. Moreover, the ideal of pantheism is an absorption of self into an absolute, and it is no wonder that pantheism tends to a degree of absorption verging on annihilation of self, whether in worshipful contemplation or in acts of self-sacrifice. Hence the well-known impersonalism of the Orient and the opportunity for the bondage-like sway of communal ethics instead of the free play of personal effort.

Seen in this light, the distinction would seem to be

[1] The highest ideal of Buddhist perfection is to be an equal of Buddha himself, to be a Buddha.

final and the gap impassable. But we must not be too hasty in drawing this conclusion, when we remember that there was mysticism verging on pantheism even within Christianity, whereas its inspiration has been exhibited by the appearance of strong personalities within Buddhism. Was not Meister Eckhart almost a pantheist, when he took delight in "the wilderness of Godhead"? Was not Nichiren [2] a man of prophetic zeal, no less than any one of the Old Testament prophets, in that he believed his mission consisted in carrying out Buddha's salvation by himself suffering fearful persecutions?

These and other like examples may be set aside as exceptions, yet we must see that the demarcation between pantheism and monotheism is not always so clear cut as is usually supposed and assumed. Though compelled to omit further illustrations and discussion, we may say that there was something of monotheistic, or at least theistic, tendency in Buddhism as there was a pantheistic inclination within Christendom. In one word, neither Buddhism nor Christianity was a single-track way to be defined in one word and to be identified with a certain principle representing a particular age or school of thought. Either was a vast stream of ideas and ideals which could embrace, inspire, guide, or be adapted to, various codes of morals, various kinds of institutions and social structures.

This point directs our attention to the amount of inspiration which Buddhism exhibited in the age of its

[2] See Anesaki, "Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet" (Harvard University Press, 1916).

missionary activity. We shall not dwell here on the missionary charge given by Buddha to his disciples—which has much similarity to that of Christ (Luke 9:3-6)—or on King Asoka's missionary work; suffice it to say that, thanks to Buddhist missions, Asia once was one, from the Siberian prairies down to the South Sea islands, from the Iranian plateau to the Japanese archipelago. More important than the extent of Buddhism was the depth of its inspiration. It amounted to fusing the humanity of Asia in one spirit of sympathy, in the sense of a unity of life. It was this sympathy and love that worked to make roads on the prairies, to build bridges over the streams, to plant fruit trees, and to erect almshouses along all the highways, to establish asylums, hospitals, dispensaries, as well as colleges and monasteries. It was this sense of the continuity of life, of the oneness of existence, that made the flowers of art and poetry to bloom and the fruits of spiritual exercise to ripen into the stern character of manhood and the persevering endurance of martyrdom. It is also to be noted that Buddhist influence had an important bearing on the international and interracial relationships of Asia, because diplomatic communications were very often handled by Buddhist priests, and the missionaries were recruited without regard to racial differences.

We must refrain from details in this connection except to point out that there is a large field of history here yet to be opened to the Occidental public. This I say not in apology or defense of Buddhism but just to make clear that there were both activity and character in Buddhism, too—a point often overlooked.

Buddhism was not a religion of mere negation, as is often assumed, but its teaching of non-ego or unselfishness had the power of subjugating petty egoism on the part of its best followers, and thereby of elevating man to a lofty height of spiritual purity and moral character.[3] But we must admit at the same time that the Buddhist religion has often condescended too much to human weaknesses and was often used as a tool of the governing classes or a plaything of the aristocrats. Buddhism was, after all, a vast system embracing many tendencies and producing various types of ideals and personalities. Its interrelation with Oriental culture was close, but we cannot identify it wholly with Asiatic civilization nor make it responsible for all the defects and failures of that civilization.

Now similar remarks apply to Christianity and to its connection with Occidental culture. Christianity is a religion of personality, but no less important is its teaching of devotion and humility. We referred to Christian mystics, and they were those who saw God face to face because they emptied themselves of self. When we bring side by side the life of the modern New Yorker, for instance, with the life of St. Francis,

[3] Though it is not the object of this book to enter into any polemic, the author feels bound to add a remark, particularly in connection with a passage in a book on Buddhism by a Christian writer. A. K. Reischauer, in his "Studies in Japanese Buddhism," says: "Even the barest outline of Buddhist ethics leads one to flatly contradictory positions, so that even a writer like Professor Anezaki [z for *s*] has to say that 'the moral and intellectual perfection of a personality, in spite of the doctrine of non-ego, is the highest aim of Buddhist morality.' How is it possible to say that 'moral and intellectual perfection of personality' is the highest aim of a system when personality itself is said to have no real existence? It is possible only by admitting, as Professor Anezaki does admit, a flat contradiction between Buddhist ethics and one of its fundamental doctrines."

we can see at once that not all of modern civilization is identical with some phases of the Christian ideal. I say this not to pass judgment as to which is more or less Christian, Mr. Carnegie or Bunyan, for instance, but in order to point out that there are various types of so-called Christian character, as there were various types which were not all purely and genuinely Christian in Christian history. Thus Christian life is manifold and the modern civilization of the Occident contains elements which are Christian as well as non-Christian or un-Christian.

Whatever the writer quoted may say and other Occidentals may think, the Buddhist conception of the perfect personality (*Tathāgata* in Buddhist terminology) amounts to overcoming the limits of the narrow ego or selfishness, which means an expansion of self or the identification of self with the whole cosmic existence. This conception, expressed in the negative, is the teaching of non-ego. The same thing may be expressed in positive terms as "self which is no more a self in the sense of antithesis to others but in identification of self with others." The Tathāgata is the perfect personality in this sense; and if the Occidental should stick to his own conception of personality or self, he might call the Tathāgata a superpersonality. (Compare: Anesaki, "Buddhist Art," pp. 1-10.) I have said *"in spite of* the doctrine of non-ego" as a concession to the prevalent Occidental conception: The Buddhist would rather say: *"Because of* the doctrine of non-ego." However, the theoretical discussion is of little concern here, and the point to be emphasized is that the training undergone in overcoming the nar-

row limits of selfhood was the motive force in producing strong personalities in the course of Buddhist history.

In spite of these considerations, the broad contrast remains between the Orient and the Occident as a fact before us, which may be partly but not wholly explained by the antithesis of Buddhism and Christianity. And there will not be, I hope, much opposition to my general statement that the Orient and the Occident represent the attitudes of contemplation and activity respectively. This being admitted, we may proceed to ponder what rôles they are destined to play in future human life.

The two attitudes are certainly antagonistic in many ways and one cannot hope to reconcile or combine them easily. But the persistent appearance of the two attitudes in various forms throughout human history may tell how profoundly rooted they are in human nature and how much they, either separately or jointly, have served human life. Life exhibits always two aspects: idea and act. Seeking after knowledge manifests itself in two ways, science and philosophy, the former standing for the spirit of discovery and control and the latter more or less for contemplation, if not worship. Within philosophy the same contrast is seen between idealism and realism in the larger sense, as shown by Plato and Aristotle. In religion the antithesis appears in that of faith and works, of self-training and proselyting, of individual piety and ecclesiastic organization, etc. A similar antithesis between idealism and realism is a well-known fact in arts and literature. In human society the differing activities of the

sexes or of youth and age may suggest something similar. Without carrying the analogy too far, however, we can safely say that human nature demands both contemplation and activity, whether it be successively or simultaneously, whether in harmony or in antagonism.

Another important point in this connection is the contrast of medievalism and modernism as shown in the vicissitudes of Occidental history.[4] The Middle Ages of Europe exhibited such manifestations of activity as the domination of the Church, the struggles of the princes, and the adventures of the crusades, yet the general attitude of life and mentality therein was that of worshipful contemplation of what was believed God-ordained, such as the Church, the laws, the dogmas and the structure of the universe. Accordingly, it was quite natural that those whose ideas seemed destined to break up the established order, like Galileo or Giordano Bruno, were regarded as heretical and were punished.

The dawning of modern history in the Renaissance, the Reformation and the opening era of scientific discoveries is a story too well known to be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the breaking down of the medieval attitude of admiration and obedience was the beginning of the modern age, which proceeded more and more along the pathway of discoveries, adventures, quests, experimentations, in short, of activity. Ceaseless activity, looking forward with little looking backward, characterizes the modern age, and signs are visible of its tendency to aimless activity, to never-

[4] See G. P. Adams, "Idealism and the Modern Age."

satisfied effort to exploit, or, more sharply, to the blind will to dominate on the part of the individual or of the nation. One of the symptoms was the World War. Not that no wars were waged in other ages, but that the late war was unique in vastness of organizing power and of the systematic means of destruction, in short, in the demoniac manifestation of the sense of activity.

Here we may pause and ask whether the attitude of contemplation should be limited to the Orient and whether activity is the final word in the progress of mankind. I might treat this question philosophically in terms of idealism and realism, but here we shall look at the matter from a more concrete point of view. The modern world of activity, in spite of the war, is full of hopes. But are those hopes well sustained by faith, the faith in the unseen reality which furnishes the reservoir and refuge of life? In other words, does not the modern man, immersed even in activities, crave something of restful repose, dignified self-possession, worshipful contemplation? Expressed in Christian terms, man is the center or consummation of creation and he is a free personality; but man has the source of his being and activity in God and seeks to find the final refuge in Him. If this is so, Christian faith may be reduced to an attitude of devotion and not wholly one of activity. I do not mean to denounce, as Tolstoy did, modern life as entirely non-Christian, but I do wish to say that not all individual initiatives and free activities are genuinely Christian. To reconstruct modern society means to Christianize it in the real sense, and in order to Christianize life

every one must go back to the source of divine inspiration, which stands in large letters in the opening of the Johannine Gospel.

Such is our view of the present world situation, in facing which mankind ought to see both sides of human nature, idea and act. And these two are, to speak in a general way, represented by the Orient and the Occident respectively. But are they wholly and forever irreconcilable? or destined ultimately to be brought into harmony? This is the question confronting us Orientals, who have been compelled to adopt the modern civilized activities of the Occident.

The problem for the Orient is how to adjust itself to this situation, without losing its own best heritages. The future of Oriental culture by itself is a great uncertainty, because it has so long been enwrapped in the immobility of a stagnant social life. But the crisis in its fate is brought to light and made acute by the contact of the Orient with the Occident, not only in ideas but in industry and politics. The present state of affairs, aggravated by the conflicts between the old and the new factors in the Orient, calls for a practical solution where it concerns political institutions, social structure and industrial organization, but at the same time its roots go back to the spiritual, moral, religious foundations of ideas and life.

Then, how shall we picture the extent and variety today of the contact of the Orient with the Occident?

What will be the outcome of this contact? What is the destiny of these two streams of culture in their bearings upon all mankind?

Such questions as these confront the Orient, and the way it solves these problems will decide its destiny, and also contribute, possibly, some good to humanity.

CHAPTER II

BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN CONTACT AND REACTION

In the preceding chapter we have tried to delineate the recent contact of the Orient with the Occident and to indicate the rôle played by religious faith on each side. Now we may proceed to elucidate the last point more particularly as regards the two religions, Buddhism and Christianity. This will be done not so much by discussing the deeper teachings of these two religions as by pointing out the practical issues arising out of their differences.

Buddhism is usually known as a religion of negation while Christianity is regarded as the religion of the strong personality. These ideas of the two religions are again closely interwoven with the interpretation of the antithesis between the two streams of culture which we have discussed. In the prevalent conception Buddhism has been chiefly responsible for Oriental immobility, while the Occident owes its progress to Christianity. I admit that there are some truths in these statements, but must contend that they are not wholly true. For as we go deeper into the matter more fundamental questions emerge as to the meaning of "negation," or, as it is called in Buddhism, "non-ego," and likewise as to the foundation of

life and strength in personality as inculcated by Christianity.

But we shall refrain from entering now into these rather theoretical, or abstruse, questions, and proceed to what the contact of the two religions in the East is producing. We shall cite two cases. One is a Japanese Christian mystic who died in 1906. His original experience of having seen God face to face shows the depth of his Christian faith, but at the same time he retained something peculiarly Oriental, through which he was nearly Buddhist or Taoist as well. Let us cite his own words.

The *presence* or *immanence* of God; or the *elevation* or *illumination* of self;—to these ideas I have had access not a few times, under different circumstances and on various occasions, but never before a case of so vivid a contact as to be kept in an irresistible reminiscence. It is since the summer of last year (1904) that I have had such experiences. I cannot know how it shall be as time goes on, but the last year was an epoch-making time in my religious life,—perhaps it may be called a period of illumination, of revelation. Indeed beyond my own thought, I have come, three times during the last year, into contact with a peculiar and miraculous light, experienced never before, yet impressive and almost palpable. And the last one was the most amazing and surprising. . . .

Ah! That was indeed a serene night! I was writing something with my pen, in the light of a lamp. I cannot now know what was the commotion of my mind, but sudden and instantaneous was the change. In a moment my self had become a self which was no more my former self. The motion of the pen, the sound of writing on the paper, each and all, being transformed into an absolutely brand-new and an unimaginable in terms of anything else, became an illumination before the eyes. This lasted only a few minutes, as I thought; yet beyond all words and descriptions was the invading con-

sciousness for the time, something like a shock, or a bewilderment, or a rapture, as if I had met face to face a spiritual living being,—a great being majestically arising out of the deep and serene abyss of infinity. . . .

If I should express the consciousness of the time more analytically, I might perhaps formulate it so: it was something like a consciousness, in which the self, which had been up to that moment as an actual self moving the pen, was instantly, quite spontaneously, transformed into the reality underlying heaven and earth; something like a feeling that, the self having vanished, God Himself was actually moving the pen. . . . In this way I have met God, seen God. To say *meet* or *see* is still too superficial and external to exhaust the consciousness of that moment. It was a confluence, a union of me with God; at that moment I myself became almost melted away into the reality of God. I became God. Thanks are due that, direct and straight from God, this amazing and surprising consciousness has been given to me. No medium of transmission existed at all, neither the authority of my spiritual predecessors nor any dependence, on my part, on their communicating consciousness, not to speak of their indirect influence.

Now I know that what I had thought before to be my religious faith had been something that had been but little obtained through my own independent religious experience, my own unaided realization, and had much depended upon my faith in the personalities of Christ and of other sages, or had been only vaguely formed on my part according to and depending upon the authority of their great experiences. . . . Later, when I began to penetrate into the depth of my own interior life, I endeavored by throwing off the authority of all my predecessors to listen to God's voice, independently through the desire of my sincere heart. My desire was not vain. How often has my heart beaten in joy facing a light —the light of finding my God seated in the innermost sanctuary of my sincere heart! No more was the God I have seen the old traditional idol or an abstract ideal. . . . My former experience of seeing God . . . was sure and sig-

nificant, and yet it was subtle and elusive. Now it is quite otherwise. My God, the God of heaven and earth, has now appeared face to face, like a fact of intense daylight, a fact astonishing and thrilling. . . .

Blessed is one who believes without seeing, but more blessed is the one who believes by having seen. . . .

By thus having seen God, I have felt surging out of the depth, a consciousness that "I am son to God";—an incomparable glory, indeed, not to be bought by anything in existence between heaven and earth. I am now convinced fully of the real position I occupy in the vast cosmos. I am neither God Himself nor a ripple, a wave, on the great ocean of Nature. I am a son of God, a son of God who shares the government of human life, of heaven and earth. . . . Ah! I am a son of God and I must live like a son of God, a life worthy of a son of God. . . . Is not God, whom I have seen face to face, abiding always beside me and extending around me His invisible arms?[1]

We leave this account to speak for itself, but we must add that a Buddhist friend of this mystic praised highly by him is now exercising a great influence. Of this man, a Buddhist reformer, we shall speak again in the fourth chapter, but we shall here cite from one of his followers. While this young man is a Buddhist in the full sense, he at the same time is a great admirer of St. Francis of Assisi, because of his principles of humility and service. He says:

There is no problem in this world that cannot be solved by forgetfulness of self, by self-sacrificing love and toil, wherein the tears of tribulations are transformed into pearls of joy. There can never be an end to conflicts in a society divided into classes as we see it to-day. There is never an end in the claims

[1] R. Tsunashima, "My Experience of Having Seen God," in his "Byōkan Roku" (in Japanese, Tokyo, 1905).

of rights, just as there is none in the calls of responsibilities, for human desires and demands expand indefinitely. The final solution lies nowhere else than in a total abnegation [in an ecstasy] of self in "all or nothing."

What this "all or nothing" means is summarized in one phrase, "the Kingdom of Non-possession." To this we shall return in the fourth chapter; what we would note here is this man's admiration of St. Francis. He says:

> His [St. Francis'] whole life was a realization of his gospel of love and toil. He never explained it, but his life was in itself a strain of pure poetry beginning in admiration and ending in praise and gratitude.
>
> Francis saw God, communed with Him, by serving the afflicted souls of fellow human beings. However obstinate in perversity a soul might be, it could not but be restored to its original purity on encountering his loving service, which fused everything that came in contact with it into the white heat of its own love. Therein did his life, his faith, grand and sublime, show in his deeds.
>
> Francis was a man who wrote a Bible of his own. He wrote it, his Bible of living faith, after he had given up the Bible of letters, precious though the letters might be. When we contemplate his life we cannot remain without joining palms in token of our reverence for his pious and loving soul.[2]

This must suffice by way of quotation, but we must add that the man who wrote these lines is actually living his life in emulation of St. Francis.

We could multiply citations of similar cases, more from India and Japan perhaps than elsewhere. But let us rather think on the question confronting us here:

[2] Yasu Miyazaki, "Seihin Raisan," or "The Adoration of Holy Poverty" (Tokyo, 1921).

What is the meaning of all this self-forgetfulness, unselfishness, or self-evacuation which largely characterizes Oriental faith, and which may seem to you too negative? Yes, there certainly is something negative in it all. But does not the negative way [*via negativa,* in Christian terminology] often prove to be a preparatory step to a larger opening? Did not Christ mean something positive when he exalted the "strait gate" and the "narrow way" in contradistinction to the way that is broad, "that leadeth to destruction"? It was surely not a positive, broad way, that Christ trod when he fasted forty days and repelled all the temptations of bread, pride, and power; but that way led to his broad communion and universal love, which were indeed the glories of the Son of Man.

In certain respects, Christ was not unique; Christianity was started by men, like-minded in their due degree, a group of the poor, not only in a figurative sense but in a literal sense, who followed Christ by taking his cross and by enduring threats and persecutions in nonresistance. There is no need to dwell further upon this point, for it is plain that the way of the cross meant, first of all, a way of death, the death of a petty self, of self-contented egoism. But after death a resurrection is expected, as was the case with the Lord. This is the hope and the faith of the Christian. And no man can hope for resurrection without dying.

While the symbol of Christianity is the cross, that of Buddhism is the wheel, the wheel of Truth which turns without stopping and conquers all. The first words uttered by Buddha when he attained the dig-

nity of Buddhahood were: "I have won the truth, I have subjugated the Evil One." But previous to this winning there had been in his life a phase of struggle and self-negation. The result was the teaching that goes by the name of "non-ego," which means not a mere negation, but a wide opening of the soul to the universal and everlasting unity of life. Here let me cite a passage from my book:[3]

> Indeed, Buddha was a man of vision in the best sense, and it is perhaps beyond our power to estimate how vividly he realized the continuity of life through his spiritual eyes. But, on the other hand, Buddhism is by no means a religion of mere ecstasy. Its meditative training, together with the practice of charity in various ways, results in a total transformation of life through the realization, first in idea and then in acts, of one's spiritual connection and sympathetic accord with mankind and surrounding nature.

The whole stream of Buddhist influence found an inexhaustible fountain-head in this transformed life, to which the teaching of "non-ego" leads, and at this source stood always the inspiring figure of Buddha's personality. We have made a brief reference to Buddhist activities in missionary endeavor, philanthropic work, social betterment, artistic inspiration, and here we shall be content with simply pointing out in explanation that these works are the manifestation of the sense of unity in all. And through the centuries that these activities have been going on all over the Asiatic continent and the southeastern islands, those who worked were men who had undergone the discipline of self-negation. They only followed the

[3] "Buddhist Art," pp. 6-7.

example of the founder in overcoming narrow egoism, and in expressing in deeds and works the spiritual vision thereby attained. The life of the best Buddhists was a life in imitation of Buddha, following his footsteps both in the matter of negation and of expansion. Emulation, however, describes their attitude better than imitation, because the source of their beliefs and their zeal lay in a spiritual communion with Buddha, in which reverent admiration and worshipful contemplation were mingled. Therein they realized direct communion, union in faith, with Buddha himself. In this way he was for them not merely the founder of Buddhism but the savior of Buddhists. And the manifold evolution of the Buddhist faith, together with its achievements in various directions, was in one sense the continuous and ever-wider unfolding of Buddha's personal inspiration, which, we may mention, the Buddhist faith identified with the truth of existence embodied in his life.

Now that we have spoken of the saviorship of Buddha, we must say that it did not imply an idea of vicarious salvation as in Christianity, though, as a matter of fact, a branch of Buddhism has emphasized something akin to the latter. This is not the place to discuss the difference or relation between saviorship that is vicarious and saviorship working through spiritual communion, but we admit freely and fully that there is a gap between the two religions in this respect. Yet, on the other side, the conspicuous and integral position occupied by Buddha's person can find a parallel only in Christianity, and perhaps, in a lesser degree, in Mohammedanism. Anyway, in Buddhism

this faith in the person of the founder was ever regarded as the source of life for those who believed in him, and, therefore, as essential for salvation: he was not merely a lawgiver or preceptor but the very embodiment of Buddhist ideals. It is on this ground we say that Buddhism was, in this sense, a religion of personality.

Hence we may well allow ourselves to grant that this something positive and personal implied in the ideas and utterances of Orientals may yet sound totally negative and impersonal to Occidental ears. Moreover, this significance of Buddha's person in Buddhist faith has trained the Oriental mind to a receptive mood toward the Savior as taught by another religion, although the latter's personality be diametrically opposite to that of Buddha, and the same may be said in the case of Mohammed. There is here an attitude of hero-worship, so common to mankind, but there is something more and deeper than hero-worship as usually understood. Faith in the person in whom it is believed the truth of the oneness of existence is embodied—this is the gist of such an attitude. There is perhaps little real cause for wonder, therefore, that the Japanese Christian mystic referred to above had so profound a reverence for Buddha, and that similarly the Buddhist Franciscan so highly admires the "seraphic saint" of Christianity. Nor must one confuse it with a mere eclecticism, but must comprehend that there are in the Oriental judgment invisible ties connecting Buddha with Christ or St. Francis.

Now, turning to more exterior things, the contact

of Buddhism with Christianity was made possible by the spread of Occidental influence to the Orient, which has occurred since the beginning of the modern age. The Spanish and Portuguese adventurers were followed by the Catholic missionaries; then came to the Orient the Dutch and English explorers and merchants, accompanied by Protestant missionaries. While India was subjugated, it did not welcome Occidental culture. Though China was forced to open her doors, she offered haughty resistance to modern civilization. Japan too had previously resisted, but as soon as she opened her doors, she stretched out her arms to welcome anything and everything Occidental. Christianity was presented in these and other countries of the Orient not only as an exponent but as the source and basis of Occidental civilization. This was more the case with Protestant missions than with Catholic, because the champions of the modern industrial régime —the most powerful and tangible factor of civilization offered to the Orient—were mostly Protestant. The case of the Christian religion was thus identified with that of modern civilization; and it was accepted on this basis, where it was accepted, even as it was offered. Christian missions progressed by leaps and bounds, as the tide of Occidentalization swept through the Oriental nations,—in the eighties of the last century in Japan, and in China and Korea in the second decade of the present century.

As a specimen of this attitude, we cite a work by a leading Japanese scholar published in the middle of the eighties. He says:[4]

[4] The English is the author's own.

Though there are not wanting on the one hand those who use the tongue and the pen to show that there is a personal God . . . and, on the other, those who advocate the adoption of Christianity from a purely political motive, there is not . . . any one who puts enough of stress on the importance of the Christian organization as a civilizing agency.

And the author explains further as regards the meaning of "civilizing agency":

In the following three respects the influence of Christianity on the improvement of society is very great: (1) the gathering of men and women in a church once every week; (2) the church music; (3) the marriage and funeral services.

This was typical of the plea for Christianity in those days, and some missionaries preached that a nation could not be entitled to have engines and schools unless it became converted to Christianity, while the converts accepted this dictum almost unconditionally. This amounted to a declaration that Christianity was the sole, or chief, agent of modern civilization, comprising science, industrialism, individualism, social and political institutions. It was a convenient method of propaganda which worked among those people who adored and welcomed uncritically a civilization new to them. It meant also a neglect of the fact that Christianity was not all one, and that the medievalism so strongly supported by the Catholic Church was not of quite the same type as modern civilization. Moreover, it carried to exaggeration the idea that the tree was to be judged by its fruits. Reactions had necessarily to arise as these one-sided or exaggerated pleas for Christianity used in Christian propaganda were one after another exposed to criticism.

The reaction took place first, as hinted above, in Japan. The first impetus in this direction was given by the introduction of Darwinism by F. S. Morse in the University of Tokyo. The missionaries were furious against him, while scholars and students stood on his side. Darwinism was followed by Bible criticism and what was called "liberal theology," for which most of the missionaries were quite unprepared. Splits appeared in the Japanese Christian churches, and some of the liberals deserted the churches, and later, Christianity. International politics made the situation worse, because the aggressive and arrogant attitude of the Western nations toward the Oriental provoked a nationalist reaction among the latter. Even among the Christian converts it was discovered that there were un-Christian people in the Occidental nations, and that the fruits of the Christian tree were not necessarily the best, and then the tree itself was questioned. This reaction, the result of combined causes, took place in Japan in the turn of the eighties and nineties of the last century. The other Oriental lands are now following in her steps.[5]

Another important point in this connection is the doubt recently raised in Japanese minds as to the value of the modern civilization of the Occident, particularly in consequence of the World War. Even apart from the war voice of "the failure of Christianity" coming from the Occident, the Oriental people could not remain indifferent to the situation of the world but raised similar questions. Bluntly put, the question

[5] See, for instance, Chang Hsin-Hai, "The Religious Outlook in China," *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1921.

raised is: Where is your Christianity? Even before the war, Tolstoy exerted a great influence upon the younger generation of Japan, and the result of his teaching amounted approximately to the same query. We shall return to this in the fourth chapter. At any rate, today in the Orient the prestige of Christianity as the agent of modern civilization, as the maker of steam engine and telegraph, has fallen down; and moreover, the backing given by political or commercial interests to missionary work is bitterly resented by the Oriental people. This is, however, in no way a real loss to Christianity, but a gain, because the time has arrived when Christianity is estimated by its real value as a religion and it is its deeper meaning which is now being sounded by earnest Japanese souls.

At this point we have to review the relationship between the Christian missionaries and their converts. Christianity has at times been preached to, or even imposed upon,[6] Oriental peoples, as the religion of the civilized peoples of the Occident and the Orientals have been regarded simply as backward peoples. So long as and so far as this attitude has prevailed, the Christian missionaries have behaved toward the natives as superiors toward inferiors. You cannot perhaps imagine what is associated with the word "native," as in the phrase, "native converts" or "native workers," on the part both of the missionaries and of the converts. Similarly the word "missionary" is understood always to mean foreigner, living in his own way and often, it

[6] The right to establish missionary institutions was made a part of the treaties imposed upon the Oriental nations by the Occidental, as if it were a coördinate of trade and commerce.

is felt, looking down upon the "native." The air of superiority means an attitude of domination, and the consciousness of inferiority means a great amount of dependence, verging on slavishness. How can Christianity achieve a wholesome growth where the "foreign missionaries" are sole masters of the "native converts"? Where is Christianity to be found if mere pity or even contempt on the one side faces submission, or suspicion or animosity on the other, if haughty domination rules over subservient dependence? But this situation is changing; yes, it must change if Christianity is to be the genuine religion of Christ even in the Orient.

Now, in Japan where these reactions first took place, the Christian churches reorganized themselves on the basis of autonomy, i.e., more or less independent from the control of foreign missions, and man can now meet man on the footing of equality, whether they be a missionary and a convert, or even a Christian and a Buddhist. There is much that could be written of the vicissitudes these relationships have undergone in Japan, but suffice it to say that now discussion of religious subjects can be carried on with relatively few shadows of animosity, even between Christians and Buddhists, at least between thoughtful leaders on both sides. Free discussion and earnest exchange of ideas can exist only between those who are conscious of independence and have respect for each other and freedom of intercourse. The same conditions apply with more strength in the case of those who stand beyond the sectarian division or the denominational difference between Buddhism and Christianity. Indeed, the two

persons quoted above are not unique, but like most of the religiously minded young men stand free from the distinction of denominations or systems. Their independent judgment, combined with an earnest search after truth, makes them admirers, even worshipers, both of Buddha and Christ, or of one through the other.

In short, the relationship between Buddhism and Christianity, in Japan in particular and in the Orient in general, started with antagonism, often blind, and then proceeded to a stage of better mutual understanding, if not appreciation, on the basis of free and candid exchange of ideas. Whether it is going on to a closer approach still or even fusion, must be left to the future. But, even besides instances like those noted at the beginning of this chapter, there are strong grounds for speaking of a closer approach, or an alliance, in a certain sense. Both religions are facing a common foe, both in idea and life, in the rise of materialism, which means the sway of commercialism, the spread of the exploiting spirit, the growth within the Oriental nations of class hatred, as well as the aggrandizing commercial power of the Western nations,—all of them tending to the neglect of Christian or Buddhist principles, and to the decline of religious life in general.

There are various factors to be considered in this connection, but the World War is the gravest issue unfolded before the eyes of Buddhist and Christian leaders and all other people of an earnest religious mind. We see that the industrial régime of the nineteenth century is greatly responsible for national aggrandize-

ment and international competitions. We see that all the atrocities and cruelties of the World War were the manifestations of the demoniac spirit abiding in the soul of mankind, which neither Christianity nor civilization was strong enough to control or subjugate. We see that all the troubles and hostilities which make up the aftermath of the war, and all the menace threatening our future are largely due to the lack of spiritual principles and ideals in humanity today. How, then, shutting their eyes to this dreadful use of unreligious and antireligious forces, can either Buddhists or Christians spend time in controversies on pantheism and monotheism, on the different conceptions of incarnation, etc., etc.? The situation that confronts both Buddhists and Christians in the Orient is this—there is a common foe first to be combated, before they should undertake to settle differences between themselves.

How many have realized that this is the real situation cannot be exactly estimated, but every thoughtful religious-minded person is asking questions like these on the actual situation:

Is modern civilization perfect?

Is it identical with Christianity?

Are the Buddhist or the Christian churches really fulfilling the tasks imposed upon them by the present situation?

Is not something wrong in the present-day world?

Is there not something contradictory to the true meaning of Buddhism or Christianity, in the life of the individual, in social institutions, in educational systems, and even in church organization?

Can either Buddhism or Christianity be sure, or even hope, that it can reorganize human life, and thereby rescue human society from the present abyss? If so, how?

How much have the specific contentions of the different religions and their divided camps to do with aggravating all these fundamental and far-reaching questions pressing upon us?

These and similar questions are being asked in earnest apprehension by all those who are sincerely concerned with the destiny of mankind as well as with the final repose of their own souls. Buddhism and Confucianism or Hinduism share the responsibility for the present situation. Is Christianity to be the only exception?

CHAPTER III

THE INTRODUCTION OF MODERN CIVILIZATION, ITS CONSTRUCTIVE AND DESTRUCTIVE EFFECTS

The subject of this chapter is the introduction into the Orient of the modern civilization of the Occident. But before taking up the subject, let us ponder on Dante, because it was just six hundred years ago the poet died in Ravenna. His spiritual pilgrimage from the nethermost depths of Hell, through the ledges of Purgatory, up to the glories of Paradise, is not only a marvel yet to us modern men, but contains so vivid a delineation of the various aspects of life that many of his passages may be cited to illustrate the phases of our life today.

Now, in the fourth circle of Hell, where the avaricious have found their abode, Dante describes how these avaricious ghosts strike and beat each other amid terrible howling. Then Virgil, the guiding spirit of Dante, says to him: "Now, my son, thou canst see the bitter jests of the goods that are committed to Fortune, for which the human race struggles with each other; for the gold . . . could not of these weary souls make a single one repose."

In all human history there has been no phase or period that has not been one of struggle, but the mod-

ern age is especially full of struggles and the modern man takes pride in that fact, interpreting Darwinism as its endorsement. We often fall into the pitfalls of blind struggles, and then justify them as the necessity of life in general. Overlooking the one important factor in the so-called struggle for existence, i.e., mutual aid, we exaggerate the rôle of the competitive fight in human life. This is, as I think, one of the lessons which the World War has brought home to us.

Whatever the merits or faults of the modern age may be, we are all living in it, and Orientals in particular feel the pinch of it, because the old heritages of the Orient are caught in an apparently hopeless conflict with the modern civilization of the Occident by the attempts that Orientals are making to domesticate it there. We cannot go back to our old seclusion but must go forward. It is not a time for us to ask whether or not to do so but to face the situation boldly and to think how we can go through with this perplexing transition.

Now the modern civilization produced in and represented by Europe and America is largely made up of the three factors, Industry, Science and Democracy. These are inseparably linked together both in ideas and in practice, and the whole atmosphere therein is an atmosphere of activity, unceasing and unstinted activity in every sphere of life. But one among these three factors involves the most direct and poignant issues—industry, the industrial and economic system made possible and accelerated by the steam engine and by capitalistic incorporation. Its exactions are particularly stringent in the Orient, because there it is

a totally new system and, moreover, the Orient must make speed in order to make up the century or two she is behind the Occident in this field. It was not out of mere imitation that the Oriental nations introduced the new forms of industry, but out of dire necessity, because without doing so they could not resist the aggression of the Occidental nations, nor even maintain their own mere existence. In this, Japan has been more or less successful, while China and India are still struggling to accomplish it. Besides this aid in the struggle for existence, the new industry has been and is immensely beneficial to the Oriental peoples. How this is so requires no explanation to Occidentals who know these benefits well enough among themselves.

What then are the effects of modern industry upon the Oriental peoples?

First of all, it owes its impetus to, was made possible, indeed, by the invention of the steam engine. Mankind has found various devices for making use of nature's energy for its own purposes, and civilization is chiefly due to the success of those devices. But there was never a device so effectively and extensively used as the steam engine. This is all so self-evident to us modern people, that we may pause a little in order to realize the magnitude of its influence. Cuvier, the great scientist of the eighteenth century, spoke, only a few years before the application of the principle of the steam engine to the locomotive, in the following way: "What would be the effect of the newly invented engine, if it were applied to ships? The ships could perhaps run against winds or currents, even

without sails or oars." This makes us smile, almost laugh, now, but was serious scientific pioneer work only a century and a half ago. Anyhow, the steam engine proved to be a most powerful device, a marvelous, demoniac or titanic embodiment of man's intention to control nature. In fact its wide applications made man almost the master of nature, and immeasurable is the amount of the stimulus to the indomitable ambition of his will to control.

Modern industry was organized on the basis of large-scale applications of the engine, and the organizing of capital and labor proceeded by strides and bounds. Thanks to this organization, a man whether he is five feet or six feet tall, can control railroads thousands of miles long or mines a thousand feet deep in remote corners of the earth, from his office in a Woolworth Building. Thanks to this organization, Labor can summon its fellowship all the world over to control a political situation or even to attempt a revolution. The organization is in man's hands, and how could the temptation to dominate others through the organization be escaped? There is something gigantic in this will to dominate, and all this apparatus of power only engenders more will to dominate.

Modern industry, as a matter of course, aims at developing hidden resources, and this leads to the will to exploit. Exploitation of human power, exploitation of nature's resources, exploitation of other nations, these make up a great feature of the world today, and immeasurable is the amount of trouble and competition engendered by this will and method

of exploitation. It goes without saying that one success in exploitation arouses in the human mind another attempt at exploiting, and the rate of accelerated advance therein is perhaps in geometrical progression.

To view the matter in this way may sound too pessimistic. But we say this not because we overlook or neglect the incalculable benefits bestowed upon mankind by modern industry, but because we modern men are apt to enjoy its blessings and overlook the other side of the shield. We know well enough how modern industry has facilitated communication and aided the intercourse of mankind, thereby contributing to the good will of the peoples. But the same industry has made possible a demoniac war like the World War. But we must admit that the war was largely provoked by international competition for trade in industry and by exploitation and aggrandizement. Thus it may be said that modern industry is as much responsible for the wreck of war as it is for the fruits of peace. Similar is its responsibility for wealth and poverty, welfare and misery, delight and agony, exhilaration and depression; and no one would dare to make a definite estimate as to the balance of the two sides. However, we must not let ourselves grow either too pessimistic or too optimistic. The essential point is that we should not shut our eyes to one side because, for the purpose in hand, we concentrate attention on the other.

Here again let us ponder a passage in Dante. In the third ledge of Purgatory, he meets those souls who loved good but were defective in duty. His master tells him about the nature of love, the trend or

energy of the human mind to embrace others in one's desire. The master says:

> While love is directed on the primal goods, and with due measure on the secondary, it cannot be the cause of ill delight. But when it is bent to evil (*i.e.*, a wrong object of desire), or runs to good with more zeal, or with less, than it ought, against the Creator his own creature is working. Hence thou canst comprehend that love is of necessity the seed in you both of every virtue, and of every action that deserves punishment.

Substitute the word "industry" for love, and there is here expressed exactly what I wish to say on the good and the evil of modern industry. For industry is neither good nor evil in itself, but what determines its nature and effect is the intention and aim of man in making use of it. Thus instead of asking whether modern industry is a blessing or a curse, one ought to ask for what purpose it is really organized, what is its ideal aim, and the right method to attain it.

On this basis, there are various points to be taken into account in considering the introduction of modern industry into the Orient. Evidently the working of a system and its effects depend largely upon the nature of the people who adopt it. When the Western nations knocked at their doors or broke them open, the Oriental nations had lived in peace and seclusion for centuries. Naturally the introduction of modern industry worked as a very explosive force, because all its aims, methods and organizations were so contrary to the life of the Oriental nations, that they were amazed and puzzled at it.[1] When, however, the first

[1] One of the instances of havoc which it wrought upon the Orientals may be cited, the conflict between railway builders and the

shock had passed, and their mental equilibrium was restored, they saw that they must adopt it at any price. The adoption was partly voluntary but partly compulsory. Herein lies a very important psychological point in the situation.

Modern industry supersedes cottage labor, and where it has sway craftsmanship and artisanship disappear. This is what John Ruskin so vigorously deplored in England; and whatever the merits of his argument, that is just what is taking place in the Orient. It involves not only an economic and social change, but is a matter of wide significance in its moral and spiritual bearings. Manual work and artisanship made possible personal and affectionate relations between the master and the apprentice, or the master and the servant. Herein lay the secret by which artisanship transmitted its traditions from generation to generation, and the source of that moral atmosphere pervaded with personal attachment and fidelity. The social structure of the Orient rested on this foundation, and artisan traditions played a great part in its make-up. But now the Orient has organized its own industry in ways so much detached from personal

people. Chinese and Koreans are eminent in their devotion to ancestor worship, and their care for the graves of the dead is beyond the understanding, even of the Japanese. For the Japanese and the Hindus mostly cremate the body, while the Chinese and Koreans bury them at spots selected according to a certain system of superstitious geomantic teachings. As a result, tombs are scattered almost everywhere—in the fields, on the hill slopes, on the riversides, and there is no localized cemetery. Thus railway builders in China and Korea are required carefully to avoid those innumerable tombs, which means often disagreeable curves and crooks in the lines. Whenever the surveyors or engineers trespassed upon one of those sacred spots there were conflicts which often provoked a whole village to rise in riot.

relations and so much ruled by the contract-relation between the employer and the employee, that the new industrial organization works as a disintegrating factor in moral and social life. Moreover, in the confusion common to a stage of transition, how many, many cases of misunderstanding, conflict, suspicion and hatred were caused by mixed motives, old and new, or by conflicts between them!

Movement or migration in search of work, a necessary phenomenon in modern industry, is another factor in disrupting the old social structure. For the old communal ethic was chiefly sustained by the habit of a settled abode for generations, and by occupations handed down from father to son. Personal attachment to one's ancestral home and continuity of ties in many ways were possible on that basis. But now modern industry encourages, or compels, removals; capital investment transfers its interests and concerns here and there; labor migrates from place to place, and the whole social structure is mobile. Many and many a person is emancipated from the obligations of the commune, released from the ties of the family. Many are free but they are also isolated units. Such uprooted individuals abound in the cities, a phenomenon which has changed greatly the features of life in Japan, and is changing them in China and India. In addition, the free movement of capital brings in its train the rise of speculation, a thing almost unknown in the old Orient. While this is a commonplace in the Occident, the change is more acute and more keenly felt in the Orient. There is vigor in movement, but it can work, too, as an explosive force.

Freedom of investment and the turning loose of speculation means a free hand for the will to dominate and to exploit, which takes even more terrible forms where the mass hardly realize the new situation. Capitalism takes advantage of every circumstance and knows nothing but the hunt after profits. This has been flagrantly the case in Japan during the war-time boom, and the result is more of the one-sided accumulation of wealth and the vicissitudes of ill fortune. The moral consequences are pride, arrogance, and corruption, on the part of the richer; despair, remorse, and irritability on the part of those who failed; jealousy, hatred, and indignation on the part of the hopelessly poor. On the other hand, however, the boom and the new order in industry in general have brought hidden talent to light and opened unsuspected opportunities. There are new men, strong and promising, in the new fields.

This last development is quite natural, because exploitation requires keenness and organization is supplemented by vision. The demand is great, and training is required to qualify for positions in the organization of new industry, and that furnishes opportunities to talent. The attraction that industrial life offers to talent, both developed and potential, is best shown, in Japan particularly, in the decrease of candidates for official careers and of applicants for the military and naval schools. This is deplored by the conservatives as a sign of diminished patriotism, but there is no reason why business men should be held less patriotic than officials and officers. However this may be, the zeal now directed to industrial organiza-

tion may be applied to any other cause, if men have enough motive and will to do so. The question is how the same power and training could be persuaded to serve public good or spiritual progress, whether in business or outside it. This means the necessity of training the public to higher ideals, and that is now our big problem.

The rise of the industrial régime has not been without effect on the social structure, in the family as well as in social life at large. The most important of the new features thus brought in is the growth of group and class-consciousness, which is now in rapid process of formation. Oriental society formerly had its groups and classes, or castes as in India, and they were no less socially powerful than the newly rising circles with a group-consciousness. But the significant point in the present change is a shifting of the bonds tying the groups or classes. Under the old régime the social bonds which linked the groups together rested primarily on sentiments, chiefly of blood-kinship and therefore of descent from a common ancestor. Its visible symbol was the common cult of the ancestral spirits, and this implied a morality of worshipful piety toward the traditions and the codes of honor that had gathered round these. In many cases common property played a part, and was a visible sign of a sense of honor as well as of a moral legacy. All this meant a mental attitude of looking backward in piety and reverence.

The group-consciousness now in the making is based chiefly on the interests common to a class. Economic concerns are combined in it with assertions of

social and legal claims, and these interests have to do not with the past but with the present, and with the immediate future. This implies a deep-going and far-reaching change of mental attitude, moral sanction, and social structure. The antithesis between these two attitudes old and new in the group-consciousness is often characterized as that of duty or piety, and right or claim. The sense of obligation, indebtedness, and gratitude predominates in the former, while the sense of freedom, assertion, and demand rules the latter. Of course, there remains much not yet considered by us as to the relation between these two general moral attitudes, and they may sometimes perhaps be reconciled or synthesized in a higher plane of morality, but the immediate issue lies elsewhere. Now is not the time in the Orient to ask the deeper meanings of obligation and claim, when the old inherited ideas are in conflict with the new régime and the reactions between the two are taking sharply pronounced forms. Action and reaction are reciprocal, and the pendulum swings from one side to the other, often with a large arc and in a rapid tempo.

The situation is, thus, the result of a radical swing from the one extreme, the communal morality of piety and obligation, to the other extreme, the class-consciousness of freedom and self-assertion. This is shown in the rapid change in the character of the labor strikes in Japan. On the first appearance, about ten years ago, of the strike, it was largely a matter of sentiment, due to personal feelings against the foreman or manager, or to grievances about matters of personal treatment. As it was provoked by personal sentiment,

it was settled by personal reconciliation, and through it all there was scarcely a manifestation of class-consciousness. In the course of about five years, the strike took more and more the form of demands for increase of wages or for improved conditions of labor. In recent years it proceeded to collective bargaining, instead of individual contract, and to political agitation, asserting the right to form unions. And now this year, suddenly in the eyes of many an observer, the strike of shipbuilding workmen in Kobe took the significant step of declaring and carrying out in part the principle of the control of factories by Labor.[2]

[2] See Frank Godwin, "The Rise of Japanese Labor Consciousness," in the *Nation*, Oct. 26, 1921. He says, among other things: "The demonstration of the 9th (July, 1921) . . . about 30,000 workers participating. The procession stretched for miles and miles through the streets of Kobe, a long line of red flags, red union banners, and white banners inscribed with strike slogans. . . . It was not a mournful appeal for sympathy, not a maudlin whine 'from the depths,' but a triumphal procession of men rising to a truer manhood and beginning to acquire a sense of their real strength, of their true mission in society, and marching onward to a future of which they could but dimly see the brilliance. . . . On July 12th there was a manifesto in the hands of every worker actively participating. . . . Let this document . . . speak for itself:

. . . . . .

"1. The Industrial Committee shall control all business.

"2. All the clerks and other employees must attend to their respective duties as hitherto, under the direction of the Industrial Committee. . . ."

Before and after this Kobe strike there were several others on a nearly similar scale, one of electrical workers in Osaka, and one of shipbuilding workers in Yokohama and Tokyo, all of which showed a wonderful amount of solidarity and succeeded partially in carrying out their programs.

Another notable feature in those strikes is the gradual lengthening of their duration. Up to three or four years ago, the average length amounted to three or four days, it was prolonged to a fortnight in 1920, and to nearly a month or more in 1921. The economic and financial conditions have had something to do with this change, but

This amazing rapidity with which the labor movement has developed in Japan from a personal basis to the claim of factory control can partly be explained by the external influence exerted by the examples of labor progress of other countries. But the more important factor lies in internal causes, the reciprocally rebounding reactions between the old and the new régimes. Therein is both hope and danger, because though the labor movement constitutes a remarkable awakening of the laboring people, the extreme swing of the pendulum may be its undoing.

The working method of modern industrialism consists in organization, efficiency, group-action; and all this is more or less associated with mechanism, not only technically but in mental attitude also. The mechanical working of the mind, together with the corresponding atmosphere in the workers' environment, cannot but injuriously affect the esthetic side of human nature. This is emphatically so in the Orient, because its peoples were long used to molding their life with artistic taste and are now compelled to make a painful jump to a largely mechanistic life. This does not mean to say that the Oriental peoples are endowed with more and better esthetic sense than the Occidentals, but the fact is that the Oriental life was formerly used to a more serene repose in esthetic enjoyment, and art or artistic sense made up an integral part of their life. In other words, art and life were closely linked together, and the people were almost unconsciously artistic. As I see it, this is not a question of

the chief cause lies in the increasing solidarity of the striking workmen.

natural endowment, but a matter largely of social structure and environment which makes it easy to understand how explosively does the mechanism of the new industrial order affect their life and mentality.

On the credit side, it is to be fully admitted that the organization and mechanism of modern civilization are giving the Oriental peoples vigor and efficiency, or at least an aspiration for these qualities. But this very factor compels Orientals to change the mode of their life, together with their mental attitude toward life. Serenity must give place to activity, mood to system, sentiment to intelligence, and the transition naturally creates a situation so painful and acute that it develops into a destructive rather than a constructive force.

Improvised verses, once so common a diversion to the Japanese is replaced by "movies"; the "floral calendar" by the sign board; listening to the music of the insects gives way to the gramophone or brass band; quiet sipping of tea to drinking of whiskey—in short repose and composure are being replaced by excitements and excitability. Adjustment to the new atmosphere and mastery over it are a hard task. Agitation and irritation first attack the nervous system, and then the monotony of mechanism atrophies it; excitement is followed by weariness, and the latter demands another excitation. It is sad to see, for example, Koreans in the larger cities taking rides in street cars, without aim and just as a cure of weariness, or to see Japanese distraught by reason of unemployment imitating Charlie Chaplin and other "movie" heroes.

But the old paradise, whether of fools or sages, is passing. The people cannot go back. The question is whether or not the best of the inherited qualities can still be kept under the new régime. This is the problem of transition and readjustment, so vital at present to every aspect of their individual and social life.

We shall be brief in our references to Science and Democracy, because their effects upon the Orient are similar to those of industry. As a whole, science represents an analytic and experimental attitude of the mind, while the old culture of the Occident emphasized a synthetic mood of mind, chiefly expressed in belief, receptivity, contemplativeness. The Oriental mind in its inherited nature expended itself in appreciation, was used to enjoy, to admire what was given by nature or in life. Science is an antipode to this, it is the critical and searching mind, it is engaged in sifting, examining and balancing its materials. Modern science was introduced into the Orient first as a means of improving economic life, for the sake of its utility. This view of science is still prevalent in India, because the Hindus, regarding themselves a superior race in spiritual matters, yet feel compelled to introduce modern industry, together with science. China still lingers in the old ways, though somewhat less than India. It is in Japan that purely theoretical science finds its chief Oriental exponent, and the scientific spirit and method are appreciated. But this attitude is limited to a few scores of scientists, for the masses see in science merely a means of utility.

Here lies the crux of the situation. Science for the

sake and in the service of industry is useful, but it is only an aspect of industry. On the other hand, there is science as a quest of truth, i.e., as knowledge for the sake of knowledge, as a method of discovering the mysteries of nature and of man. Science, in this sense, is finding its way into the Orient, particularly into Japan, but this scientific attitude of mind is not congenial to the Oriental mind, either wedded to tradition or used to esthetic enjoyment. Moreover, science in this sense is not a good friend of the religious spirit. A Japanese writer who combines in himself Tolstoy and St. Francis says: "We have been experimenting much, but have not experienced." Another writer, an admirer of Nietzsche as well as of Christ, says: "We have been asking for bread, and what was given to us was a method of making bread." He and many others might have cried, "We have asked for bread and were given a stone."

Even in the Occident, the true meaning of science is still in question,—whether it be a means of industry or knowledge for the sake of knowledge. Of course, these two aspects can have no clear line of demarcation, yet there is a question as to which is the fundamental mission of science. How much more, then, is the Orient puzzled in regard to it, because the spirit of science was so foreign to its traditional mentality. Thus the questions asked by the Orient are diverse:

Wherein does the real spirit and aim of science consist?

Is the use of science for industry a mere by-product, or does it belong to the essential nature of science?

Is the way Western civilization is now based on science final, or has it an ideal besides science?

Similar questions may be raised as to the meaning of industry in human life, such as:

Does industry exist for the sake of mankind or does man live for the sake of industry?

Man has made machines, but is he the master or the servant of them?

In these questions the Oriental mind is moving somewhat in the path of John Ruskin; and these problems are not academic but are questions of life or death, to us Orientals.

Finally, democracy is a portentous factor in arousing the Oriental peoples to a new life and hope, and it implies many practical issues and struggles in their political and social life. Democracy is said to mean government by the people, but it is more than a matter of government, because it is a social and moral problem too. We hear often of democracy as a political institution, and as if it were a perfect system of government. But we wonder whether it be not a social atmosphere and moral attitude based on the belief, not in the perfectness of an institution but in the perfectibility of human beings. The people's will is supreme in democracy. But where is the source of the people's will and what its aim? Does democracy not need some kind of guiding principles or leadership not now in evidence? If so, where can it be found? The Oriental mind, so much and so long trained to revere something higher than self, asks these questions.

To be a little more concrete, the immediate issue of democracy in the Orient is the struggle between the

idea of authority and that of freedom. But will the people be satisfied when all men and women secure the vote? We know that that will not be the case. The first objective was parliamentarism, and then universal suffrage. But the laboring people in Japan are already convinced, whether rightly or wrongly, that these would not quite accomplish their purpose. China has become a republic. But is the solution final? India is struggling for freedom, but how shall she organize herself if freedom comes?

To sum up, Industry, Science, and Democracy are working their way in the Orient as liberalizing, emancipating, and elevating forces, but at the same time there is felt to be active a conflicting, disintegrating, and perturbing power. We know that this is a period of great transition and we believe that the disintegrating stage will be followed by a more constructive period. What we want is a force and motive which will both fulfill the demands of activity and coördinate with the satisfaction of worshipful contemplation.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS AGITATION AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

Nowadays religion seems to be ruled by social movements, instead of guiding, commanding, and inspiring them. All the world over religious institutions apparently are struggling to adjust themselves to social forces—to people's temperaments. There still are state churches; there are orders and groups eager to serve society through employment bureaus and swimming pools; there are theologies of the social gospel eager to settle down with the mass on the level where they stand rather than on a higher plane of holiness. But where is religion itself? Where is shown the power of faith, of humility, and of repentance? Science is said to have its sphere of interests independent of religion; not so religion, which is eager to accommodate itself to science. Religion is supposed to have a divine mission, but that mission is not seldom controlled by industrial magnates. There is something religious in the creeds and in the zeal of the social reformers, including socialists and bolsheviks, but many of them are mortal opponents of religion, at least in its organized form. One must ask, instead of "where," "what" is religion?

Many people in the West believe that the World

War has brought to light the failure of Christianity, while some in the Orient join them in the cry of its impotence. Whether this be right or wrong, it is certain that the Christian religion or the churches were not potent enough either to create the war or to stop it. If Christianity did create it, it was the religion of the German Kaiser who had sent his troops to China in order to chastise the Chinese so thoroughly that they would not dare to stand face to face with Germans for the coming thousand years. Orientals have read some of the sermons and prayers uttered in Christendom during the War, and find that the combination of Hurrah and Hallelujah is not limited to Germany. Naturally the questions arise in their minds: What is Christianity? Are the Occidental peoples really Christians?

All this I say not in the sense of passing my personal judgment upon Christianity and the Occidental nations, but in order to point out what is being questioned or thought, even by the average man in the East.

But turning to the religions of the Orient and questioning ourselves, we are compelled to confess that the same kind of doubts and questions face the Oriental religions. The Hindu is proud of his profound spiritual inheritance, but can he declare that his precious heritage alone is sufficient to organize his life? China tried to establish Confucianism as her state religion, but its failure is too obvious. Japan has her Shinto and Buddhism, but is not the mind of the rising generation being steadily alienated from these religions? Japanese Buddhism has its grand organizations active in education, in propaganda and in social work; but

is it firmly confident that it possesses the spiritual vitality to inspire and lead the nation, not to speak of projecting foreign missions?

Okakura, in his "The Ideals of the East," said: "Asia is one"—i.e., one in her spiritual ideals. But that is true no more. Asia is divided in religion and in many other things, and if there is any oneness or likeness in the peoples of Asia, it is due to their contact with Occidental civilization, and that oneness consists in the common loss of equilibrium brought about by the new system of industry, science, and democracy, as has been explained. This newer oneness means that the old religions have lost their position of dominance and are being controlled or disturbed by the social changes that are taking place. Hinduism, hopelessly interwoven with the caste system, is preeminently a conservative institutional force, and not an inspiring or regenerating power. Confucianism is a humanitarian ethics, but being an elaboration of a patriarchal system of politics and morals, its teachings are peculiarly static and formal. Shinto, being a remnant of ancient nature worship and of the cult of the spirits, cannot hope to withstand the pressure of science, while its communal ethics is struggling for life in the face of the industrial régime. One religion that remains in the field with some hope is Buddhism. But it is hopelessly divided, its organizations are parochial, and its tenets often too metaphysical.

Asia, the cradle of all great religions, has still her religions and systems of ethics; but they are at a loss how to take hold of the world situation, how to accommodate themselves to the new régime. Then how can

one look to these religions to lead the people and succeed in reviving their spiritual life, or in reconstructing their social life? The nations of Asia are passing through turmoil and fermentation, and the immediate issues are largely political and social. India is yearning for freedom; Siam is groaning under encroachments; China is engaged in a fierce struggle against foreign aggression and internecine strife; Japan is near the breaking point on the question of over-population and insufficient resources, and her people are engaged in a stubborn fight for greater democracy. The social problem of the Orient is essentially the outcome of the introduction of Occidental civilization, particularly its industrial régime. The strife of capital and labor is advancing with great strides. The congestion of the cities, the increase of excitement and temptation, the rise of insanity and criminality, these and other troubles keep pace with the organization of measures and forces to counteract them. In all these matters, the Orient is no more a realm secluded from the West, but here too the pressure of the gigantic rolling tank called civilization is equally felt.

How the difficulties of the situation are aggravated by the conflict between inherited culture and the new régime, has been dealt with in a preceding chapter. One point may be added, and that relates to the changing position of woman. Although the humiliating position of woman in the Orient has often been exaggerated, it is evident that the change is pretty radical in the sense that woman is escaping from home confinement and is pushing forward into social life. Beside the "new woman" in Japan working for the emancipa-

tion of her sex or universal suffrage, her sister in China competes with her in participating in political demonstrations or in school strikes. One can imagine how the gap is deepening between the "new woman" and the old, and how the questions arising out of the situation must include various difficulties and incongruities.

If this is the present situation in outline, one might think that interest in religion and in spiritual problems would be overshadowed by these immediate issues and troubles. Or one might suppose that the old religions were utterly hopeless in handling the situation and that Christianity must fill the gap. This is partially but not wholly true. For Christianity is quite as much a problem as the old Oriental religions, at least so far as its position and influence in the Orient are concerned, while on the other side the old religions are not wholly dead but signs are visible that new shoots are coming out of their old trunks.

In this respect we have to note that a close connection exists between social troubles and religious faith, and also that there are latent seeds of religion imbedded in the soil of the human soul. Troubles in social life are, as a rule, a sign that the existing religion has lost or is losing its commanding power, whether this be due to changes coming from outside or to the inner decay of that religion. On the other hand, people facing immediate political or social difficulties may often lose sight of the deeper meaning of those problems and of how ultimately they can be reduced to an attitude of the human mind, of which religious faith is the deep-lying basis or fountain-head. Even under these exterior circumstances, the human

soul calls for help from something supernatural or divine. Roughly speaking, wherever you have economic stress and social troubles there arise new varieties of religion, ranging from mysticism to superstition; and these new varieties of religious faith arising from time to time are fed from the deeper strata of the soul, mostly in defiance of the existing official religions. I might refer to George Santayana, who, in his "Winds of Doctrine," traces back Christian Science to the general soil of what he calls New England mysticism. Nor is this explanation limited to those forms of religious faith which are extravagant and superstitious, because we can trace the origins of the great religions or the wholesome reformations to similar circumstances and origins.

Our situation in the Orient, particularly in Japan, illustrates this point. All the religious sects which exert the greatest influence in Japan owe their origin to a period of social crisis in the thirteenth century, and present-day Japan seems to be fertile soil for a similar harvest. There has been such a renewal, indeed, of religious change in process since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Then Japan had lived in seclusion over two centuries, and the oppressive air of feudalism was becoming unbearable. New religious sects arose, mostly in secret, in which both leaders and followers were men and women belonging to the lowest classes, uneducated and crude in ideas but with the fire of faith. These movements represented the raw material of religion and were full of nascent vitality. They remained latent forces, living in the background first under the pressure of the old régime and then

under the overwhelming Occidentalizing current in the new era. When, however, the excitement of the China-Japan war (1894-95) was over and economic depression followed, those hidden forces appeared on the surface, to the amazement of the educated "enlightened" classes. Among these was one sect very much like Christian Science in ideas and practices which was the most prominent and now remains an influential one.

A similar upheaval took place after the Russo-Japanese war, and now, since the World War, other such movements have made their appearance. Among these we may take two types as illustrative of the extremes. One may be called the religion of self-exaltation, and the other that of self-renunciation.

The first is represented by Omoto-kyō, or "the Great Fundamentals," started by a crazy woman believing herself a messenger of the gods and later elaborated by humbugs and fanatics. Their doctrines are motivated by fear and boastfulness, with much of chauvinism and also of lamentations and threats. During the war they predicted an invasion of Japan by a German-Russian allied force, and now, after the collapse of these two, they predict such an invasion by America. They say that this coming invasion will devastate the whole of Japan, except their headquarters, Ayabe, a little town in central Japan. But, they go on to preach, the approach of the final day will be a turning-point in the world's history, because the hosts of the gods will arise from Ayabe and not only vanquish the invaders but subjugate the whole world. Then will begin to reign the peace of the gods under a

theocracy, the present believers being destined to be its ministers, generals, etc. Their utterances bear a certain resemblance to some passages of the Old Testament or of the Koran and show some prophetic fire. Besides making these preposterous predictions, they pretend to work miraculous cures, and they teach more or less communistic ideas, and so claim to solve the social problem of all mankind.[1]

A great deal more might be told about the Omoto and other similar sects, but suffice it to say that they well represent the perplexed mind of present-day Japan, and the advancing surge of religious aspiration, though in its crudest form. There are similar movements in Korea, quite independent of those in Japan. There, a spot surrounded by rocky hills in the central part of the peninsula is assigned as the future world center, and people are flocking to the place both from the desire to escape the coming disasters and to become the future rulers of the world. In fact, Korea is full of religious agitation and the rise of a new religious sect may be registered by the week, if not by the day. Many Christians also are involved in these agitations. In fact, no clear line of demarcation can be fixed between the Christians and non-Christians as regards this politico-religious fermentation [2] and at the same time signs are visible of a reaction among liberal and independent Christians against the paternal attitude of the missionaries.

[1] Comp. *Literary Digest.* During 1922 the Government instituted proceedings against the leaders. The headquarters shrine was razed to the ground and the power of the sect was broken.

[2] A curious combination of old and new ideas found currency in the rumor which exerted a great influence on the "independence"

While, on the one hand, there is boastful self-exaltation combined with bewilderment due to the new situation, the other extreme is represented by the Franciscan type of self-renunciation. The shadings between these two poles are manifold, and we cite here one of them marked by a strong individualism, reminding us of Whitman mingled with more or less Tolstoyan traits. One of its representatives is a man of letters who has a large following among the younger generation. His faith, although not religion in the traditional sense, embodies the aspiration of the rising generation for a life in which fullness of individuality would be combined at the same time with a free spiritual loving fellowship both in social life and in religious communities. But the chief emphasis is laid on the development of individuality, in the full realization of the "inner self," the true selfhood. Let the author speak for himself:

I discovered that I had been one of those in the Christian church who might rightly be called hypocrites.

I am not sorry that I have separated myself from the group in which men are divided into the righteous, the hypocrites, the sinners, etc.,—are distinctly labeled and then treated accordingly.

It (deserting the church) has been a long time coming to an issue; and yet the shortest cut, after all, probably was to sense profoundly this dissatisfaction with my own life. It

movement in 1920, that President Wilson would come to Korea in an aëroplane and then "independence" would at one stroke be achieved. This figure of a hero flying in the air was a modernized manifestation of the Taoist idea of a *Hsien* (superman) working miracles.

amounted to experiencing over again the pains of birth, age, illness and troubles, the defects of my own character, all my failures in life, etc.

Is man the lord or slave of destiny? This question puzzles me and leads me to melancholy. Confidence in God, the certitude of moral laws, or the foundation of science, the standpoint of humanity, everything else will be unstable without a decisive solution of this fundamental question.

And the solution is offered by Love, the pure instinct of attachment. In Love I enfold others, as I am enfolded by others in love; and thus I and others make up a life beautiful in texture, by weaving together the woof of self with the warp of other selves. The better and the profounder the self is developed, the inner self, the better and the profounder is the external world it enfolds into itself. The whole life is thus perfected. There is no more sacrifice, nor duty, but only the privilege to be grateful and the full tide of give and take to be enjoyed.

Christ enfolded into his supreme love all mankind, past, present and future. In his case it could not have been otherwise. How great satisfaction he found in the endless expansion of his self is proved by the fact that he never ceased to love himself away. Was it not he who said "Love thy neighbor as thyself"? he who loved himself with a love greater than any other son of man that he might love himself away the more and become a self vast enough to enfold all mankind. That he exhorted men to follow him shows how convinced he was of the possibility on the part of all men, even the mean and foolish like myself, of treading the same pathway with him.[3]

This man does not organize his followers in any manner, but his numerous admirers, mostly young men

[3] From T. Arishima, "Love Enfolds without Reserve" (in Japanese, Tokyo, 1920), pp. 131, 133, 134, 182, 200, 211.

and more women, automatically feel themselves organized under his banner, and their fellowship may result in some kind of organization or institution. In fact, Japan today is alive with these small fellowships and fraternities of young people. Some of them have established definitely communistic communities, a kind of St. George's Guild or village settlement; some live in common abodes, verging on convent life or in simple forms of dormitories; some live a life of common prayer and devotion, or of mutual emulation in rigorous spiritual training. There are Buddhists and Christians in these little bodies, and they often neglect the denominational difference, uniting in denouncing the shortcomings in the existing forms of these religions, or associate on cordial terms among themselves, yearning for a better day in the world. We cannot estimate the exact amount of their influence, nor the number of their groups, but there are signs enough to indicate the possibility of their further development. They have produced good preachers, able men of letters, and also social workers. They are young shoots, whether plant or weed, of the religious spirit and life, and their religion ranges from strongly individualistic piety to the active work of social service.

It is also interesting to notice the influence of Tolstoy on these young men of aspiring spirit. Many of them see in Tolstoy a true spokesman of the primitive and genuine Christianity, and they recognize in the nascent vigor of primitiveness, a religious spirit of real vitality. They are more or less advocates of the teaching of nonresistance and nonpossession, and there the unstained gospel of primitive Buddhism is

found to be on a common platform with pure Christianity. Indeed there are utterances of these young aspirants which may be taken as Christian prayers and Buddhist confessions all in one. Voices are heard, "Through Christ to Buddha" or "Through Buddha to Christ," and similarly the admiration of, or the devotion to, the Buddhist reformers of the thirteenth century like Hōnen and Shinran is found to be in close affinity with a similar attitude toward St. Francis and Dante.[4]

Now, there are, among these young aspirants, more dreamers perhaps than workers, more men of piety than of activity. But on the other hand, social unrest and labor troubles are working as strong stimulants to arouse the earnest souls of the young generation to an interest in active social work. The foremost and most remarkable man in this field is Toyohiko Kagawa, who became well known through the strike in Kobe, referred to in the third chapter, but he has been working for more than a decade in the worst of slums for the welfare of the most desperately poor. He was educated in a Presbyterian theological seminary, but becoming utterly dissatisfied with mere theology and church work, he devoted himself to personal work among the people. The article in the *Nation* cited

[4] The author called attention to St. Francis, in his "Diaries in Italy" (in Japanese, 1908), perhaps for the first time in Japan. Since then, very remarkable has been the number of publications on St. Francis and Dante. "The Little Flowers," "The Mirror of Perfection," "Divina Commedia," and "Vita Nuova," have all been translated more than once. Beside the translations of Sabatier and Jorgensen, several biographies of St. Francis, and St. Clara have appeared. The celebration in 1921 of Dante's anniversary furnished a fresh opportunity for the exaltation of these great men.

in the preceding chapter gives a concise view of his life. It says:

Mr. Toyohiko Kagawa is a Christian and a Socialist. Not the strangely ineffective creature we usually think of as a Christian Socialist, but a man who combines the spiritual beliefs of Christ and Tolstoi with the practical convictions of present-day guild socialism. He was educated [partly] in America—in Princeton University, I believe—but somehow he retained his soul. Ten years ago, after his return to Japan, he settled down in the slum quarters of Kobe. . . . If a man wanted his cloak, he gave it to him. If a prostitute or a beggar-child was ill, he would watch over them night and day with the tenderness of a mother. If a poor demented product of slum degeneracy threatened him with violence for no reason whatever, he would argue with the man, or flee from him if necessary. . . . When a genuine labor movement began to develop a few years ago he was one of the foremost organizers. He was becoming famous as a writer, both of social studies and novels. . . . Though a nonresistant by conviction, he has no hesitation about advocating the most radical methods that can possibly be carried out without the use of violence; at the same time he speaks to the general public in terms they understand, terms which sweep away every capitalist justification with its cogent phrases.[5]

The future will show what this remarkable man, the "Savior of the Slum," will finally achieve, but we shall be content with getting a little view of what he thinks and how he aspires from some of his utterances. In a novel [6] which is practically Kagawa's autobiography,

See further in Frazier Hunt, *The Rising Temper of the East,* Bobbs Merrill, 1921, pp. 94-111; and Galen M. Fisher, *Creative Forces in Japan,* Missionary Education Movement, 1923, pp. 101-6, 228.

[6] "Beyond the Death Line" (in Japanese, 1921; in English, 1922), which is selling by tens of thousands. He has published further the continuation of the story, with the title "One Who Shoots the Sun" (in November, 1921). From the latter we cite two passages which

the hero replies to the questions put to him by a police agent:

I am a Christian socialist, but at the same time an advocate of the principle of nonresistance. I am living in this slum for the saving and inspiring of the poor. Yet, please be not worried. . . . I respect the workman as well as all human beings, and therefore shall never attempt to kill anybody. I may better be classed as a follower of Christ than as a Christian socialist.

This "Follower of Christ" says in an essay on "Human Architecture," on the restoration of genuine human nature:

Love toward sinners! Human nature can for the first time be soundly established in a society in which one can pour love even upon sinners. This is a problem too delicate to be settled

tell his ideas about social work. In meditating on the work of Jesus, the hero of the story says:

"If the ambition of Jesus to be the Savior were a grave error, he was not responsible for that. He lived up to his idea and died for it, and therein was working out not his own will but the invisible will of the universe, the will of God that was working behind Jesus. That Jesus let himself be guided by the most solemn idea of redemption may have been an error. Even so, not he but the cosmic will was responsible for that error. The error of Jesus, if it were so, was that of God Himself. . . . No, for Jesus all was a complete triumph. His triumph was that of God, of mankind."

In another passage:

"He (the hero) is well aware that social policies of a temporary nature or sensational theories of social revolution are not the way to save mankind; and he has gone to live in the slum in order to see what power of God it is that saves man from the vilest depth of sinful life. He does not say to the poor either that they should attempt a revolution or that the rich alone are vicious, but he preaches only the way of salvation. And that means to him the necessity of transforming human nature in all its aspects, including instincts, temperament and intelligence. No external force is able to save human society; nothing is more important than the power of God working within every one's self. This is the religious faith that is in control of his whole life."

by materialistic socialism which seeks to solve all questions as a matter of bread. On the other hand, the bold attitude of the carpenter Jesus, who "came to call sinners to repentance," was perhaps too religious to attract ordinary human beings; yet each and every movement for reconstruction will finally arrive at that point. A perfect society is one where sinners even are loved and protected, so that they may be led up to repentance. . . .

The restoration and elevation of human nature can be prevented by nobody. Human nature is the sublimest of all the architectures in the world. . . . But Capital and the Factory are nowadays forcing this grand work of art to bend over the oil can and to be squeezed between machines. A devil, indeed, is the modern factory.

Yet the sunlight which reveals that its rooms are filled with children of God can get in through the windows of the factory. There will come a time when these children of Light, and not the machinery, will be exalted and adored in the name of freedom and illumination. That Sun is rising, and human architecture is near its completion.

In these and other utterances which have back of them his life and work, we see the strong, but meek, personality of Kagawa flooded with the rays of hope and faith, even though surrounded by the most dismal shadows of the slum. He is not so much a social reformer with a definite program of policies, as a spiritual reformer full of power and vision. Yet he never loses himself in theories but works on persistently and assiduously for what he calls "human architecture," the restoration of genuine human nature.

We have left for consideration to the last a movement which may be called Buddhist Franciscan. Its initiator is Tenkō Nishida, a man who, passing through many experiences of success and failure, finally

entered upon a life of humility, nonpossession and service. He was born and grew up a Buddhist. He had once been an industrial contractor; but business failure, due chiefly to the pressure exerted upon him by both creditors and workmen, plunged him into depression and vice. He never ceased, even in the pit of despair, to meditate on the meaning of life, and particularly on the good and evil of the existing economic system. In the depth of failure and agony he decided to renounce everything, his family and his own self, too. For a while he lived like a beggar or hermit, without paying any heed as to how he got fed, and still he was able somehow to keep alive. One day all he had to eat were some grains of rice strewn on the street which he picked up to sustain him. Like a flash the idea then came to him, that man lives not because he deserves to by his own merit but by the gift of Nature, and that what he deemed to belong to him was not in fact his own, but a free gift of grace. Changing his course, he began to serve a friend's family. He did menial work and demanded no more in return but just a bare living. Thereupon he was almost amazed to realize the profoundly edifying effect of his humble service upon himself as well as upon the whole household of his friend, including its servants, for his life inspired the whole circle with a bountiful spirit of zeal in mutual service.

This experience, together with his meditation in solitude, accomplished a revolutionary conversion in his spirit and life, and ever since he has continued to live up to his principles of nonpossession and service, going about from one place to another. He does not

know how to name his religion or principles, or his God, nor does he try to formulate his ideas. But he shows his Buddhist heritage by often naming the final haven of his life the "Universal Light," the Source of all being, the Giver of grace. His life of humility is in itself proof of his faith in the Light, and he admonishes his fellows to live the life of service to all fellow beings, and therefore to the Light. Thereby he combines in his life and faith the parts or offices of both Mary and Martha. His religion can be formulated, of course, in one and another of many ways. One of his fellows has done it in Buddhist terms. But it is better seen in his own life, and many of those now following his example are those who came and saw him and were thus persuaded to adopt his way of living.

Instead of continuing to describe his life, however, let us now quote some passages from his discourses.[7] He says:

When you review the life of Buddha or Christ, or any other sage or founder of religion, you cannot but be struck by their common conviction that life is secure without possessions. You would say that security without property in the world of modern civilization is a mere Utopian idea; but you think that, simply because you have little faith in the Universal Light.

The life of my fellows is a living testimony in its favor, and I am convinced of the truth of my principle that the desire for possession is the root of all evil.

First, renounce everything, either property or claim. Accumulate nothing for tomorrow. Be ready at any moment

[7] From "The Life of Penitence" (*Zange no Seikatsu,* a collection of his discourses, Tokyo, 1921), pp. 137, 190, etc.

to renounce even your life. In this way you will find an unspeakable satisfaction. . . . All of us feel so who have become emancipated from the desire for possession.

Heaven and earth, mountains and streams, all are Buddha Himself. It does not matter who does or does not possess this or that. All belongs to all. The whole cosmos is a totality, subject to neither increase nor decrease. When I have realized this is so, I have seen the Universal Light face to face.

Another passage speaks of humility.

Buddha left his royal palace and went about alms-begging. Christ washed the feet of his disciples. Laotze, St. Francis, Tosui,[8] and many other spiritual leaders lived the life of humility (each in his own way).

Humility embraces everything.

Humility may be compared to the earth, which is the mother of all.

Humility bears all and gives life to all.

Destruction begins its work in every one who takes pride in his own achievements, because the desire for achievement implies possession and monopoly.

When you probe the matter to the depths, all the conflicts of human life are rooted in egoism.

Renounce your own interests and serve others, in penitence, the penitence that realizes the root of all evil and sin is in yourself.

So train yourself that you can serve anybody in any way, when requested; and therein polish your own soul to a lustre.

This is humility and the beginning of the life of true fellowship.

Nishida's reference to St. Francis recalls a noteworthy point. We spoke of a member of his fellow-

[8] A Buddhist monk who, on giving up the dignity of an abbot, lived among beggars.

ship emulating the life of the Seraphic Saint; and everyone can easily see how the mind of a sincere Buddhist can find in Francis a soul wonderfully congenial to him. In fact Nishida had started his new life quite on lines of his own, even apart from his Buddhist heritage, but later some of his sympathizers and admirers, among whom was an English lady, called his attention to Francis, and now this leader finds himself in a close spiritual fellowship with the saint who served the lepers and preached to the little birds. But the sympathy is more than personal and Platonic, because along with his life of service, Nishida is now taking up the practical question of organization, and has come to believe his task to be how to extend the principle of the Franciscan Tertiary Order to the whole of society. The immediate issue in his judgment is to reform the economic life of modern society in accordance with the principles of service and nonpossession. Nishida, who was once a middleman in business, seems to have very considerable organizing talent, and how his operation of a mine which he started a few years ago will turn out is a matter of keen interest to all observers. Some of his fellows have also organized factories, somewhat along the line of coöperative societies. They insist on nonpossession and regard these properties as mandates entrusted to them for the service of mankind. We cannot tell at present what more will come of this movement, but we can say now that there is something fresh and invigorating in it, that the movement does represent a common life of faith and love in its nascent state. It remains to be seen, whether Nishida and

Kagawa, referred to above, and other leaders of these new movements may get together in a working alliance, and how great an influence they will exert upon the religious and social movements of the future.

The catholicity of Mr. Nishida and his affinity for essential Christianity were both strikingly illustrated recently (March, 1923) when he visited Hachiman, a small town in Omi Province, where the Omi Christian Mission is located. He surprised his hearers by declaring at the beginning of his first public address that he had for eighteen years desired to visit Hachiman, not only because a schoolmate lived there, but because he wished to meet the American founder of Omi Mission and see his work. Then he said, "I do not feel that I can tell you people of Hachiman anything, but that I have much to learn. You do not need my help since you already have Omi Mission here!"

At the end of his address Mr. Nishida made his way straight through the crowd and introduced himself to the founder, asking for an interview. The following day he visited all parts of the Mission—the architectural and mercantile offices, the student home, the tuberculosis sanitarium, the Galilee Maru on the Lake, and the homes of the members of the Mission groups who number about ninety Japanese and ten Americans. In his address to them he spoke to this effect: "In twenty-one years of following 'the Way of Penitence' I have not had such a happy day. For here I have found in practice, by a large and happy group, what I have dreamed of and advocated: religion as the dynamic of everyday life; industry and self-support and social service all happily united; men

and women of various nationalities living happily together on terms of equality. And I have found one thing quite beyond my own experience—how property can be made the *instrument* of spiritual living and service, instead of a hindrance to them."

The sincerity of this tribute was evidenced a few days later by Mr. Nishida's bringing his only son to be trained in the principles and practises of the Mission.

Other instances of the life that attempts to be an expression of humility might be cited, but these will suffice for our present purpose. They enable us to discern the birth—out of the deep sub-soil, apart from religious systems and denominations—and the growth of the religious soul. Birth cannot be without travail, and travail is often accompanied by groaning, agony, and bewilderment. On the other hand, however, new life is arising that will achieve some growth with age. The idea of humility and nonpossession as related above may be too extreme, but we must recognize therein a strong driving power for making a new start in idea and practice, in belief and life. At any rate, in all these movements ranging between the two poles as described, a distrust of existing religious organizations, Christianity not excepted, is combined with a dissatisfaction with the present social structure, especially the industrial régime. All this proves that there is a close connection between the religious and the social troubles of today.

Seen thus, the religious agitation of the Orient presents an interesting phase. The whole situation may be summarized figuratively in this way: There stand

in a forest the old giant trees of Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, but they are showing signs of decay. Their gigantic trunks may be rotten in the pith. Beside them there is another tree which has been transplanted, Christianity, which has not struck its roots deep enough to show a real vitality. The climate is warm and the air heavy and humid, and grasses and mushrooms grow abundantly, doubtless destined to die. But besides these passing fungoid growths, young green trees are seen in bud among the overgrowth. Some of them derive their life from the roots of the old trees probably and others from new seeds. No one can tell whether any of these will achieve vigorous growth and finally displace the old trees and succeed in perpetuating the time-honored forest. Trees and grasses grow and die, but there is always Life, and Life lives by Love.

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